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A CHARGE

Delivered to the several GRAND JURIES of the counties of ALLEGHENY, WESTMORELAND, FAYETTE, and WASHINGTON, at December Sessions, 1794, by ALEXANDER ADDISON, President of the Courts of Common Pleas in those Counties.

THE late insurrection in this country, from the numbers concerned in it, the manner in which it was conducted, the object which it proposed to accomplish, the fatal effects which it produced, and the melancholy prospects which it exhibited; may be considered as the most alarming event which has occurred in America, for many years. When authority has been encountered with tumult, and laws have been suspended by armed men, when the rage of some citizens has attacked the lives of other citizens, and destroyed their houses and property by fire; every man of a sober mind must be impressed with concern, and seriously consider, to what these things tend.

That a people struggling against usurped powers should oppose oppression by violence, or that, in the state of inflammation which is produced by a revolution, occasional outrages should break forth, no man will wonder. But that a people living under a settled and free government of laws, established by their own will and changeable when, and to what they please; should have recourse to force, to repeal or alter their laws; or to any thing but authority, to redress their grievances; is not less absurd in itself, than destructive to liberty; and will more effectually promote arbitrary power, discredit democracy, & shew the inefficacy of a free representative government, than all the arguments, which its most artful enemies have ever invented,

All governments are liable to change: all have had their changes; for no human art or invention is perpetual. The freedom of the savage state is by degrees restrained, by the rules which are necessary, to preserve one man from the force or fraud of another. As wickedness becomes more ingenious or daring, restraints are multiplied, or, in other words, the powers of government are enlarged. Every new act of violence in the people becomes an argument for a new accession of force to the government; till arbitrary power is gradually invested in one man, as the only remedy for preserving every man from the injustice of every other. Such *has been* the progress of governments; and such, by the violence of passions, *may be* the progress of ours.

We profess to admire liberty, and to respect the principles of a democratic republic, as the best source of government; and we consider our own government as founded on those principles. Will we be honest in our profession, and act on the principles which we admire. The principles of a democracy are, that the whole people, either personally or by their representatives, should have the power of making laws. But in what law is it, that the whole people would concur? So various are the faculties & interests of men, that unanimity of many, in any one measure, is seldom to be expected, of a whole people, almost never. If no law were to be made therefore, till the whole people should assent to it; no law would almost ever be made. But as laws must be made, there is a necessity, that the will of some of the people should be constrained: and reason requires, that the greater number should bind the less. In our government therefore, the will of a majority is equivalent to the will of the whole, and as such must be submitted to; unless we will avow, that we mean to change or destroy the principles of our government by violence and terror, and abandoning reason, the principle of action in men, degrade ourselves to the rank of brutes.

To permit or assume a power in any particular part of a state, to defeat or evade a law, is to establish a principle, that every part of a state may make laws for itself, or, in, other words, that there shall be no laws, no state, and no duty; but a complication of separate societies, acting each according to their pleasure. Those societies will again be subdivided; for a majority, or the whole of any society will have no authority to controul any one refractory member. Each man in the state will be free from all law, but his own will. Government and society are then destroyed; anarchy is established; and the wicked and the strong, like savages and wild beasts, pray on the whole, and on one another.

Such are the natural and necessary consequences of opposing a law by force. This opposition persisted in must terminate either in anarchy in the people or tyranny in the government, and in either case, must terminate in the destruction of those republican principles, which we profess to admire, and are bound to support. If the government yield, one example of successful violence will excite some other part of the people, for some other cause, to pursue the same unwarantable means, for the attainment of a favourite object. Every law will be opposed in some quarter, by interested men. Indulgence to some will necessarily beget indulgence to all. There will be no law, the wicked will have no restraint; happiness will no longer exist; mutual jealousy, distrust, and terror will pervade all; thefts, robberies, and murders will spread over the country; and every man will be the enemy of every other. If the government exert its force, the resistance which it will experience, and the difficulty with which it will overcome it, will convince the whole people, or the well disposed, and the greater number, that there is a necessity of abridging the privileges of the citizens, and arming the government with greater power. To repress improper violence in the people, powers otherwise unnecessary will be given to the government; and those powers will be increased, by every new occasion of violence, till a tyranny is established. And this is the most probable result of tumults, riots, and insurrections. For all good men are instantly impressed with indignation and resentment against them, and disposed to lend their aid to government, to punish and restrain them. And in the choice of anarchy or tyranny, the last, as the least evil will, be preferred.

I hold therefore, that a forcible opposition to law, instead of favouring liberty, is the surest way to destroy it. Is then forcible resistance to law never justifiable? It never is, unless the law be unconstitutional. An unconstitutional laws is of no authority and void; and resistance to it is justifiable, if not commendable. If a law be not contradictory to the principles of the constitution, however erroneous those principles be, it is intitled to obedience. If the law or the constitution require amendment, it is to be sought in a peaceable manner; for to attempt it by force, implies an apprehension, that the alteration attempted will not bear the test of reason, nor receive the approbation of a majority. If either the law, or the constitution displease a majority, the majority can alter either. If either the law or the constitution displease a minority, the minority must submit or retire from the territory of the state. These are the principles of democratic republicks. By these principles, if we examine our resistance to the Excise law, we shall find it as unjustifiable in its nature, as it was outrageous in its degree. A power to lay and collect excises was explicitly vested in Congress, by the Constitution of the United States. This power received a very full discussion, and deliberate sanction from all the states, in their conventions. And, if I well remember, not less than four of the states (some of the southern, and some of the eastern states) to their ratification of the constitution, annexed an express condition, that Congress should not impose direct taxes, unless the amount of the imposts and excises should be insufficient for the necessities of government. According to the opinion of those states therefore, Congress, instead of being censurable for not preferring a direct tax to an excise, would have been censurable if they had imposed a direct tax till the last extremity.

All our benefits are mingled with some degree of inconvenience. The union of the states under a general government, while, by combining the whole strength, it renders the states respectable and prosperous, may be truly considered as essential to our safety and happiness, and as one of the greatest political benefits, which we can possess. But it is necessarily attended with this inconvenience, that the laws, which, from their nature, must be general, will often be less adapted to the circumstances of some states, than of others. The suffering states must seek consolation under this evil from the principles of mutual concession; and remedy for it, from time, experience, and reciprocal inequality of taxation. If this tax, as doubtless it does, bear peculiarly hard on this country, there may be other taxes which bear peculiarly hard on other parts of the United States, and affect us but little. I know not whether I ought to reckon of this number, the tax on property sold at auction, the tax on the manufactury of snuff and refined sugar, or the tax on licences for selling wine or foreign spirits by retail; but of this number I surely may reckon so far as it goes, the tax on carriages for the conveyance of persons. If all these taxes do not, the last certainly does, affect others chiefly, and us but little; the last, I may rather say, affects not us at all. They were all imposed in the last session of Congress; and if the progress be persisted in, all may correct the inequality of each; or the interest of all combining, for mutual protection, and instructed by observation and experience, may in time produce the repeal of all, and introduce a new system more acceptable in its nature and more easy in practice. In the mean time, while we murmur at the inconvenience of any law, let us seriously reflect on the difficulty of making laws equal and acceptable to so extended and varying a territory as that of the United States. And, considering the fraternal band which ties us together, and the source of our laws from the appointment of the whole people; ought we rashly to abandon a confidence, that, as soon as a law is plainly proved, by experience, to be oppressive to us, our brethren will relieve us? Would not we do so to others? And have others less virtue than we?

Together with these general principles, the particular circumstances of this country press upon us a faithful submission to this law, as a point of conscience, honour, and safety. If we do not *yield*, an armed force will *compell* a punctual obedience. The law *will* be executed; and let us not render it impossible for government to execute it by proper persons. As a publick office, become necessary for our honour and safety, let us render its execution respectable, and encourage and protect honest and respectable men in it. We may thus, in some degree, lessen the burden of the law, and render our obedience more pleasant to ourselves.

God forbid, that any man among us should entertain the horrid idea, that secret assassination should accomplish the work, which it is found no longer safe for open insurrection to attempt. When danger to its very existence has once roused the power of government, no art or machination, nothing but implicit submission, can restore safety to the aggressors. Even from our security from each other, such an idea is one of the most dreadful that can be conceived. Vices the most daring and detestable, need only a plausible introduction, to render them familiar and general. One instance of assassination, of the most odious person among us, would render the life of the most respectable altogether unsafe. For assassination is the work of a ruffian; and is there any person whom a ruffian will respect? cast a moment's reflection on our late troubles, and tell me what kind of villainy there is, which all at once, did not become fashionable. Chopping off heads was spoken of as easily, as slicing a cucumber; and burning houses became as trivial, as tearing waste paper. Introduce assassination, or any other species of crime, under a plausible pretence, and it will soon spread over the country, and extend to every object.

The late troubles exhibit an awful lesson, which it would be inexcuseable to pass over without attention and improvement. During their existence, the passions were too much excited, and the mind too little at leisure; to examine throughly their nature or effects; and terror debarred the exercise of freedom of opinion & expression. But now, when the storm is over, it becomes our duty to look back on the past scenes, to contemplate the ruins it made, & speaking of the leading transactions freely and without disguise, to bestow some serious reflections on their nature and tendency. These reflections, while they afford us an opportunity of remarking, how fatal to happiness is a resistance to lawful authority, will shew us also, how opposite to liberty anarchy is.

Some of the plainest dictates of personal liberty, if not its most essential principles, are, that every man be

ree to think, to speak, and to act, as his inclination and judgment may lead him, provided he offend not against any law; that no man shall be tried or punished according to the arbitrary will of any individual, but according to the established forms & rules of the laws; and that the enjoyment of every mans property shall be secured to him untill he forfeit it, by the sentence of the law, and that sentence be executed by the proper officer. With these maxims compare the effects of anarchy, as we have experienced it. Because the interest or inclination of some men led them to accept and execute certain offices established by publick authority, lawless bodies of men, assembled for the purpose of riot and violence, seized, insulted, and abused their persons, entered their houses by force, and destroyed both their houses and property by fire. If any thing can place such transations in a more detestable light, than, at first sight, they must appear, it may be this; that, if these things may be done, for any cause, however good, there needs no more for their execution, for every cause, than that the party to execute them be of opinion, that the cause is good. Let but a mob assemble, however small it be, if sufficient to accomplish its purpose; let them agree in opinion, that such a man is dangerous, and therefore, that his property ought to be destroyed; and it is instantly done. Let but one man hate another, and resolve to destroy him; he has only to assemble a few of similar sentiments, or over whom he has influence; they instantly pretend to be the people; and the work of malice is accomplished under the semblance of zeal for the public good.

The outrages of anarchy were not confined to publick officers. They extended also to private citizens, of respectable character and inoffensive manners. Variety of opinion seems to be as natural to the human mind, as variety in shape, features, and complexion, is to the human body. Both seem to be the work of our creator: neither can be a proper cause of punishment: and to punish for either, is the grossest tyranny. Actions, which some may think meritorious, others may think detestable; and a law, which some may think bad, others may think good. But surely no man of sense and virtue will think, that any man ought to be punished, for entertaining or expressing either of these opinions, or for acting accordingly. Yet, for such causes, were men, who had offended against no law, severed from all the attachments of domestic life, driven from their families and homes; it might have been, to wander: they know not where, and to subsist, they know not how; under the fear and peril of death, if they should return. Is this liberty? such is the liberty of anarchy.

To a private letter a sacred respect, somewhat resembling the antient mysteries of religion, has been usually annexed; and, to violate its secrecy, requires the suspicion of a coward, and the villainy of a traitor. Yet, for no object, that I can perceive, of any public nature, but only to gratify the little revenge of a malignant mind, or to shew, that there was no crime, which we were not ready to perpetrate; the public post was robbed, and the letters in the mail were opened by a set of self created inquisitors, who, advancing from one degree of guilt to a greater, assumed the authority of government; and called out the militia of the country to share and cover their crimes.

These transactions furnishes us with melancholy instruction, that, when men have once transgressed the bounds of civil obligation and violated publick authority, there is, afterwards no restraint to their excess. They will do deeds, which they never before intended, and from which, had they been suggested, they would have shrunk back with horror: and they will do them, from no motive, and to no end, of interest to themselves or others; but merely from the rashness of the moment, a sally of wantonness, or an impulse of malice. Let us learn, therefore to confine our conduct within the strict line of duty, and remember, that the first transgression renders easy every subsequent one, however enormous.

I will state one or two causes, founded in ignorance and error, which contributed to the late unhappy insurrection, or facilitated its progress.

I shall mention first *an opinion, that riots and terror, banishing the officers of excise, would produce a repeal of the excise law or its inactivity with respect to us*; but I have said so much of this, on other occasions, that I shall now pass it by without further notice.

I shall next mention *a desire to cover the guilt of those who first attacked General Nevill's house*. As, it seems, an opinion pretty generally prevailed, that riots, in this cause, were proper; it appeared hard, that those who engaged in them should suffer, for their services in the publick cause, and it seems to have been believed, that the best way to protect them was, by multiplying the number of offenders, to make the punishment of any appear dangerous. Perhaps here one might find matter for questioning, whether it be not desirable, that wickedness should be accompanied with understanding; and whether folly be not the most mischievous of all qualities. Had the men who incited the second attack on General Nevill's house, and the subsequent transactions in the insurrection, been men of sound, well informed judgment, they would have reasoned in this manner. "The rioters have erred; but we have countenanced and shared the opinion, from which their error proceeded; and we ought to endeavour to save them. Let the whole country now rise, and seize and secure them for public justice. When this is done, let us go forward to government, with solemn and sincere assurances, that we will submit to this law honestly and punctually, & that, if required we will pay all past damages and delinqencies; and, with these assurances, let us request, that government forgive our offending brethren." If measures of this nature had been pursued, the issue would have been more fortunate to the offenders, to these counties, and to the United States.

Another cause which I shall mention, is *a mistaken use of the word people*. As, in a democracy, the people is the source of all authority, and as the people on this side of the mountains seemed all to agree, in reprobating the excise law? declaimers, never extending their views beyond their own neighbourhood, but considering the people *here*, as the *whole* people, took occasion to represent, that the people *here* might lawfully correct any errors of their publick servants. On these principles, every neighbourhood, considering itself the as people, thought it had a right to do as it pleased. Assuming, without proof, that the union of all the states is necessary for the prosperity of each; and that, separate from the union, we should be insignificant & dependent; I would observe, that it is the *whole* people of the union, that is the source of all power, and that we are but a very small portion of the whole people. And because the whole people is the source of all power, to argue, that a very small portion of the people is the source of all power, is absurd. If every small portion of the people were to assume the powers of the whole instead of a government, we should have a chaos of jarring authorities and conflicting wills. While the constitution subsists, even the whole people can speak only in the constitutional manner, by their representatives. For that the only voice of the people is the laws. And the laws must be presumed to be the will of the people, untill the repeal of them declare, that the people have changed their minds.

I shall mention but one other cause, which facilitated the progress of the late insurrection. The danger of this country from Indian incursions had rendered it often necessary to assemble the militia, without waiting for the orders of government, which would come too late for the danger. From experience, it was found, that attack was the best defence. Hence voluntary expeditions into the Indian country were frequently undertaken; and government, from a sense of their utility, afterwards sanctioned them, by defraying their expences. In this manner, *it had become habitual with the militia of these counties, to assemble, at the call of their officers, without enquiring into the authority or object of the call.* This habit, well known to the contrivers of the rendezvous at Braddock's field, rendered the execution of their plan an easy matter. They issued their orders to the officers of the militia, who assembled their men, accustomed to obey orders of this kind given on the sudden, and without authority. The militia came together without knowing from whom the orders originated, or for what purpose they were met. And, when met, it was easy to communicate, from breast to breast, more or less of the popular frenzy, till all felt it, or found it prudent to dissemble, and pretend, that they felt it. This gave appearance, at least, of strength and unanimity to the insurrection, silenced the well disposed, and emboldened ruffians to proceed, with audacity, to subsequent outrages, which there was no energy to restrain, nor force to punish.

In these reflections, we find nothing consolatory; all is sorrow and disgrace. Let us turn then to the other side of the picture, and consider the conduct of the government, and of our fellow citizens in other parts of the union. A measure, no less prudent than gentle, was adopted by the government. Commissioners were sent, to offer us a full pardon of all past offences, on the simple condition of future obedience. Least these terms offered generously at once, and the best that could be offered, should fail in reclaiming us to duty; the President ordered, that a competent number of our fellow citizens should be ready in arms, to compel that obedience, which reason and mercy could not procure. While the terms were under our consideration, there appeared a manifest reluctance in our fellow citizens, to draw their swords against their brethren. But no sooner was it known, that we had rejected those terms, and threatened the government with war and dissolution, than the contest among them was, who should be foremost in the field. It was then no longer a doubt, whether a sufficient number could be procured to go; but whether multitudes, beyond this number, could be persuaded to stay. The merchant abandoned his warehouse, the lawyer his office, the mechanic his shop, the gentleman his pleasures, and every man the gains and enjoyments of domestic life; to endure hardships, which they had never experienced before, and hazard their lives in defence of the laws. At the call "your country is in danger," the rich and the poor met together, forgetting all distinctions of station and circumstances, and blended in one common class of patriots. Even the pacifick quaker whose principles restrain him from shedding blood, now assumed the garb and weapons of war, and marched in arms to maintain the peace and government of his country.

In this we receive a lesson of the power of government, and are taught, that, however riot and anarchy may triumph for a while, there is an energy and strength in government to crush them; that reason and the laws are the only true protection of free citizens; that violence only brings ruin on its authors; that, in times of sedition, it is the true interest of all, to be not lukewarm and indifferent, but firm and persevering on the side of public authority; and that the faithful friends of law and order, however borne down for a time, will, in the end be protected, and rise above oppression.

Even on the bright prospect of the generous and spirited conduct of our patriotic fellow citizens a cloud intervenes. Though none of them fell by our arms, yet some have fallen victims to a change of climate and manner of living, an inclement season, and severity of fatigue over swamps and mountains. Some gallant youths will never return to their anxious parents. Some parents will never return to bless their children, in their dying moments. And some husbands have expired without a wife to close their eyes. Can we think of this without suspicion, that their blood may be on our heads?

But, gentlemen, the past cannot be recalled: let us only study to improve by it; and strive to make some compensation, by our future conduct. For this purpose, let us suppress the first seeds of sedition and riot, before they grow up as before, to a strength not to be resisted. Let even words tending to any violence or a breach of the peace, be held criminal. Let every witness of such things carry the offender before a magistrate, that justice may be executed. And let every magistrate take heed, that he bear not the sword in vain. To permit criminals to escape from punishment, is to encourage crimes. Impunity begets offences, as corruption produces maggots. A few examples of punishment of the late disorderly, given among ourselves, in each county, will perhaps secure our peace for many years, and prevent the existence of many crimes, and the necessity of many and severe punishments.

To your particular and serious consideration, gentlemen, do I address these sentiments. You are the door, by which only justice may be come at. By you a way may be opened to justice. By you justice may be shut up. In your hands the laws of your country have placed this authority; and, for your exercise of it strictly, according to law and truth, you are bound by your oaths, and answerable to your God. You have no discretion, to do as you please: your opinions must be governed by the laws; your belief must be guided by testimony: and to you you have sworn. It is not for you, to determine, whether it be *expedient*, that punishment should be inflicted on any particular offender; but only whether it be *true*, that any particular person is an offender.

There are two reasons, which ought particularly at this time to induce juries, and all other officers concerned in the administration of justice, and all citizens, to discharge their respective duties, with precision, and carry the laws into execution, with the most perfect exactness. An armed force is now in our country, for the purpose of enforcing submission to the laws. The sooner we give satisfactory evidence of our voluntary and exact conformity to the laws, the sooner will our country be cleared of this stain on its character. Further, a law has lately been passed, directing, that certain cases, which formerly were tried in the federal courts, *may* now be tried in the state courts; and experiments, under this law, are about to be made. We have now, in many cases, an opportunity of being tried in our own counties, instead of being carried for trial to York or Philadelphia. But, if we shew any backwardness or bias, in doing justice, we can-

not expect, that we ſhould be truſted with its adminiſtration, in thoſe caſes. Government muſt require ſtrict juſtice; and if this cannot be obtained in our courts, they will be ſhunned as corrupt; and we ſhall be taken, for trial, to a diſtance, and have our caſes decided by others. If we wiſh, therefore, to be delivered from a ſtanding army; or if we wiſh to have trials, in the caſes offered to us, in our own counties, let us now, at this critical time, give ſpecimens of our being ruled by law. If we do ſo now, who knows, but, after ſome experience of our virtue, the federal government may truſt us, in all caſes whatſoever, with trials in our own counties.

I do therefore ſolemnly adjure you, to deal faithfully, and make true preſentments, in all caſes of any breach of the peace, or other offence, eſpecially reſpecting the late troubles. This will be the true teſt of our integrity, and will determine how far government ought to truſt us with the management of ourſelves. Whenever a bill is ſent up to you, if it be proved true, I call upon you, as you regard your oaths, and the intereſt of your country, to *find* it ſo. Where any offence is within the knowledge of any of you, I call upon you, by the ſame regard to your oaths and your country, that you preſent the facts to us, or give information of them to the proſecutor for the ſtate, that he may draw up a bill to be *found* on your knowledge.

One offence, which I would recommend to your particular conſideration, is that of raiſing what were called liberty poles. What was the liberty which thoſe pole raiſers wanted? A liberty to be governed by no law; a liberty of deſtroying every man who differed from them in opinion, or whom they hated; a liberty of doing whatever miſchief they pleaſed. It is not *acts* of violence alone, which conſtitute offences. Offences may be committed by writings, by words, or by other ſigns of an evil purpoſe. The mere act of raiſing a pole is, in itſelf, a harmleſs thing; the queſtion is, what is the meaning of it. Thoſe poles were evidently ſtandards of rebellion, and ſigns of war againſt the government. They were raiſed by the ſeditious, with an avowed intent, to hold under fear all the well diſpoſed and peaceable part of the community, to keep alive the ſpirit of riot and confuſion in the country, and to prevent the return of law, peace, and ſafety. And they produced all the ill effects which were intended. They gave an opportunity to the violent to know their ſtrength and one another. What was it but thoſe pole raiſings, and their attendant circumſtances, that prevented our return to ſubmiſſion and duty, and a general acquieſcence with the terms offered by the commiſſioners; and made it neceſſary for government to march an army into this country, to ſubdue that ſpirit of ſedition and riot, which blind madneſs firſt excited, and thoſe poles kept alive? Will any man doubt, therefore, that raiſing thoſe poles was criminal? that thoſe were eſpecially criminal, who raiſed them, after the arrival of the commiſſioners of government in this country? and thoſe, above all, who raiſed them, after the generous terms offered by government were made known?

Another claſs of offenders, perhaps yet more atrocious, conſiſts of thoſe, who, by violence or threats prevented, or endeavored to prevent, the ſigning of the acknowledgment of ſubmiſſion required by government, as the condition of our pardon and peace. Independent of the fatal effects of this violence to the country, it was a reſtraint on that freedom of will, which every man has a right to exerciſe.—Was it not a plain breach of the peace? Was it not a plain declaration of war againſt government? Need I, gentlemen, uſe words, to convince you, that it was a crime? I know I need not.

Neither need I tell you, that thoſe men are criminal, and ought to be ſubjected to proſecution, who took upon them to burn houſes, or abuſe property or perſons, for ſuppoſed miſconduct. Thoſe alſo are criminal, in a high degree, who aſſembled in parties, for the purpoſe of doing ſuch things, though they never did them. This is a clear offence, and breach of the peace. It tended alſo to keep up the terrors againſt returning duty, and rendered an army neceſſary to remove thoſe terrors, and reſtore the minds of the people to freedom and eaſe, and the country to peace.

Let me, in the words of ſcripture, point out the certain difference between liberty and licentiouſneſs. "So is the will of God, that you ſubmit to every ordinance of "lawful authority;" as free, and not uſing your liberty for a cloak of maliciouſneſs, but as the ſervants of God. For, brethren, ye have been called unto liberty; only uſe not your liberty for an occaſion to the fleſh; but, by love, ſerve one another."* True liberty, like true religion, is known by its fruits. Liberty, the daughter of Heaven, and the beſt gift of God to a favored people, a generous principle, whoſe object is the peace and proſperity of the human race; muſt produce fruits worthy of its divine origin; meekneſs, juſtice, and love of one another. Licentiouſneſs, the offspring of hell, and the ſcourge of an offending nation, ſelfiſh in its nature, and ſeeking the degradation of all but itſelf, bears fruits of an oppoſite nature; ſedition, fury, hatred, malice and miſchief. By its fruits judge, whether our inſurrection proceeded from a ſpirit of liberty, or of licentiouſneſs; whether it was the work of God or of the Devil.

Do your duty, gentlemen, and ſatisfy your own conſciences. Preſent all offenders whatever to the juſtice of your country. This you are bound by your oaths to do. Whether thoſe offenders ſhall be conſidered as proper objects of mercy or of puniſhment, it is not for you to decide. That queſtion lies with others; and you cannot take it up, without violating your oaths, and proſtrating the principles of our laws and government.

I ſhall conclude with exhorting to a ſpeedy and faithful compliance with two propoſitions, made to us by the agent of government. One is taking an oath of fidelity, and ſubmiſſion to the laws; and the other is entering into an aſſociation, for ſupporting their authority, and protecting their officers.

It may be aſked, why ſhould we do ſo? I will give two reaſons. 1. We have been great offenders; and we cannot give too ſtrong aſſurances of our return to duty. The aſſurances required ſeem due to our own character, and to the ſatisfaction of our fellow citizens. 2. A temporary army is now, and a ſtanding army will be, eſtabliſhed among us; unleſs we can convince government and our fellow citizens, by unequivocal proofs of our regular and ſincere habits of ſubmiſſion to law, and exertions to enforce obedience to all authority. If we refuſe compliance, government, and our fellow citizens, may ſuſpect, that there is a change only in our conduct, not in our hearts; that our ſubmiſſion is temporary and diſſembled, and that, if we believed it ſafe, we would again break out into riots. Let us prevent ſuch ſuſpicions by our conduct; and, as we have rendered it neceſſary for government, to eſtabliſh a force to reſtrain us; let us render it proper to withdraw this force. Let us begin, by taking this oath, and entering into this aſſociation, and continue in a faithful adherence to both. We may thus repair our character, and relieve ourſelves from the diſgrace of being governed by force and a ſtanding army.

* 1 Pet. ii. 13. 16. Gal v. 18.

American Affairs.

PHILADELPHIA, Dec. 12.

We are credibly informed, that within the laſt eight or ten months, about a million ſterling has been remitted from Europe to this country to be depoſited in the American banks. If the troubles in Europe continue, and there is every reaſon to imagine that they will, remittances of this nature muſt, in a ſhort time, become extremely numerous.

The conqueſt of Holland will be the greateſt crath that commercial property perhaps met with, ſience Scipio Omilianus ſacked Carthage, which was about thrice as populous as Amſterdam is at preſent. The Dutch commonwealth has long been immenſely in debt. The amount was many years ago computed at more than an hundred millions ſterling, and is by this time very likely increaſed by a third more.

This kind of property will vaniſh, under the graſp of Jourdon and Pichegru, like the baſeleſs fabrice of a viſion; and this diſſolution alone would be ſufficient to ſhake the credit of all the other public funds in Europe. Monied people can then only look for an aſylum to America; and hither, they will no doubt fly. No nation ever gained more by neutrality than the United States may, at this period. Thouſands of intelligent manufacturers, and thouſands of wealthy merchants, will ſoon be ſeen flying to this continent for refuge, from that *boſom of deſtruction* that is now ſweeping before it the kings and emperors of the old world.

A letter from Paris ſays, "Mr. Monroe has already taken up the ſubject of American claims, and the very important one of the preſent ſtate of commerce between the two countries which has and does continue to derogate from ſome of the articles of treaty of commerce and amity, ſubſiſting between them. I am in hopes ſoon of being able to inform you of Mr. Monroe's complete ſucceſs."

Pittſburgh, December 27.

A law has paſſed both houſes of Congreſs, authoriſing the Preſident to call into ſervice 2500 militia, to be ſtationed in this country, in order to ſuppreſs unlawful combinations, and cauſe the laws to be duly executed, if he ſhall deem it neceſſary; or, if in his judgment it may appear expedient, he may order voluntary inliſtments from the militia for that purpoſe.

HEADQUARTERS,
near Brownſville, Nov. 30, 1794.

Gentlemen,

I take this public method to return my thanks to you for the very polite manner in which you have been pleaſed to give your agency towards the fulfilment of my recommendation to the good people of the counties of Waſhington, Allegheny, Weſtmoreland, and Fayette, reſpecting their taking the oath of allegiance to the United States, and ſubſcribing the aſſociation thereto annexed, and to requeſt you will cloſe the books on the laſt day of December, and return the ſame in the following manner, in Waſhington, to Judge Addiſon, in Allegheny, to Judge Wallace, in Weſtmoreland, to Judge Jack, and in Fayette, to Judge Breading.

I have the honor to be,
Gentlemen,
With great reſpect,
Your moſt obedient ſervant.
HENRY LEE.

To the Juſtices of the Peace in the Counties of Waſhington, Weſtmoreland, Fayette and Allegheny, holding books for the ſubſcription of the Inhabitants, as above expreſſed.

The Eaſtern Mail had not arrived when this paper was put to preſs.

THE *ſubſcriber, next door to Wilſon's Ferry, has received a neat aſſortment of GOODS calculated for the ſeaſon, which he will ſell on reaſonable terms for Caſh, or Country Produce. He has alſo for ſale the beſt aſſortment of INDIAN GOODS which has appeared at this place for many years, which he will diſpoſe of* cheap *for Caſh or good Peltry.*

JAMES G. HERON.

Pittſburgh, Dec. 22, 1794.

WILLIAM WILSON,
Has juſt received a freſh aſſortment of
DRY GOODS & GROCERIES,
which are now opening at his ſtore in Water ſtreet, and he will ſell them on the loweſt terms for caſh, country produce, deer ſkins, & all kinds of furs.
Pittſburgh, Dec: 25, 1794.

A very large aſſortment of
MERCHANDIZE,
Juſt received and now opened for Sale by
WILLIAM CHRISTY.
Pittſburgh, Dec. 26, 1794.

Taken up adrift in the Ohio *river, on Sunday laſt, the 21ſt inſtant, two CANOES, one of them is a ſycamore, with a chain, the other pine, with a hickory wyth tied round one end. The owner or owners may have them again by proving property and paying charges.*

CHARLES CONRAD,
living on the bank of the Ohio, near Pittſburgh.
December 24, 1794.

CAME to the plantation of the ſubſcriber, living in Pitt townſhip, Allegheny county, near Braddock's field, in November laſt, two Horſes, one a black, with a ſtar in his forehead, ſhod all round; the other a ſorrell, with a blaze in his face, two ſaddle marks, one on each ſide his back. The owner or owners by proving property and paying charges may have them again.

PETER ROHLETTER.
Dec. 25, 1794.

Notice is hereby given to all thoſe indebted to the ſubſcriber, to make payment by the firſt of February next, otherwiſe their accounts, &c, will be put into the hands of proper perſons for recovery. Produce, at market price will be taken in payment.
WILLIAM DUNNING.
Pittſburgh, Dec. 25, 1794.

All perſons indebted to the ſubſcriber are hereby requeſted to make payment on or before the firſt day of January next, and thoſe indebted to the eſtate of John Dodd, deceaſed, are deſired to make payment immediately, as no longer indulgence, in either caſe, will be given.
WM. MEETKERKE.
Waſhington, Dec. 12, 1794.

Notice is hereby given

to the Purchasers of Lands at the Commissioners Sales which commenced the 24th day of November last, at the Court-House in Allegheny county, to call on JOHN WILKINS, *Esq. at his Office in Pittsburgh, to receive their Deeds agreeable to the conditions of sale. The money paid by the purchasers at the sales and who omit or neglect calling for their deeds within one month from this date, will be considered by the Commissioners as forfeited.*

By order of the Commissioners,

SAMUEL JONES, Clk.

Dec. 20, 1794.

Notice is hereby given

to all those indebted to the subscriber to come and pay off their accounts before the first day of February next, as no longer indulgence will be given.

WILLIAM HERD.

Dec. 18, 1794.

Four Dollars Reward.

STRAYED or stolen from the subscriber at Canonsburgh, on the 4th inst, a young brown *MARE*, 4 years old, trots all, no brand, about 13 hands high, hind feet white, and a star in her forehead, marked white on her back, occasioned by a hurt. The above reward will be paid to any person that will secure said mare so that the owner may get her again, and reasonable charges if brought home.

ROBERT HENRY.

Peters township, Washington county, Dec. 17, 1794.

Borough of Pittsburgh, Nov. 3, 1794

PUBLIC Notice is hereby given, that at a town meeting held this evening, it is ruled and ordained, that the following regulations of the markets shall take place on the first day of January, 1795.

That no person shall expose to sale, nor any person within the Borough shall purchase any kind of meat, fish, poultry, butter, cheese, eggs, fruit, or any kind of vegetables whatsoever, except at or in the market house or houses of said Borough, until after the hour of 10 o'clock, in the months of April, May, June, July, August, and September, nor until after the hour of 11 o'clock on the other six months, under the penalty of eleven shillings and three pence for every such offences This rule to be observed on stated market days, viz. Wednesday and Saturday; and on other days of the week until after the hour of 11 o'clock in the morning on the first mentioned six months, and until after 12 o'clock for the other six months, under the same penalty, for every such offence.

And it is further ruled and ordained that the inhabitants of said Borough may not be imposed upon by huxsters, no person or persons shall purchase any of the above enumerated articles to retail or sell again, before the above mentioned hours are elapsed, under the penalty of eight dollars for every such offence, which fines and forfeitures are to be applied to the use of the Borough.

By order,

JAMES CLOW, Town Clerk.

Two good COOPERS

who have experience in making flour casks, will meet with employment on generous wages at Wells's mills on Cross creek.

Nov. 20, 1794.

JOHN IRWIN,

Has just received and is opening at his Store, a neat & general assortment of

MERCHANDIZE,

which he will dispose of on reasonable terms.

Pittsburgh, Dec. 18, 1794.

ISAAC GREGG,

Has just opened a fresh supply of

MERCHANDIZE,

which he will dispose of on reasonable terms.

Pittsburgh, Dec. 18, 1794.

NOTICE is hereby given, that the Offices of Inspection in each county of the 4th Survey in the District of Pennsylvania, for receiving entries of stills, &c. is also open at the same places for receiving entries of carriages for the conveyance of persons; applications and licences granted for selling wines and foreign distilled spirituous liquors by retail; for receiving the duties upon snuff and refined sugar. The collectors in each office will receive applications and give the licences to those who are retailers in wines and spirituous liquors. The terms of the licence will be for one year commencing the 30th September last, and the duty will be five dollars for each.

JOHN NEVILL, Inspector of the Revenue, 4th Survey

Dec. 15, 1794.

WHEREAS *the subscriber purchased 50 acres of land from a certain William Castleman, in St. Clair township, Allegheny county, and gave four notes, viz. One of twenty five pounds, payable the first day of April* 1795; *one of fifteen pounds payable the first day of April* 1796; *one for fifteen pounds payable the first day of April* 1797, *and one for fifteen pounds payable the first day of April* 1798; *and whereas Gen. Nevill lays claim to said land, I forwarn all persons from taking an assignment on said notes as I am determined not to pay them until a good title be made me by said Castleman.*

ISAAC WILLIAMS.

Dec. 16, 1794.

Notice is hereby given,

THAT *all Stills which became forfeited to the states by not being legally entered in the month of June last in some Office of Inspection in the 4th Survey, District of Pennsylvania, will have no longer indulgence than to the 10th of January next, by paying one year's arrearages to end on the last day of June last, which will be proceeded against agreeable to the second section of an act of the United States passed on the 5th of June* 1794, *making further provision for securing and collecting the duties on foreign and domestic spirits, stills, &c. which is the forfeiture of the stills, liquor, vessels, &c.*

JOHN NEVILL, Inspector of the Revenue, 4th Survey, District of Pennsylvania.

December 10, 1794.

Apprentices Indentures for sale at this Office.

A List of Letters remaining in the Post Office Washington.

Abraham Boyd, Washington, care of Joseph Patterson, D. D. James Brysland, Washington county; Josiah Bottle, Washington county; Robert Armstrong, Washington county; Jas. Beazley, Washington county; Wm. Bone, care Rev. M. Henderson, Chartiers; John Acteon, Straban township, Washington county; John Acchy, near Dille's mill; Mary Dill, Washington county; Mathew Dill, junr. Washington county; James Christy, Washington county; Jacob Cline, Washington county; James Crochard, Washington county, care of the Rev. John M'Millan; James Drummond, care of Joseph Parkeson; Richard Carroll Ten mile creek; John Crayin, John Erwin, care of John Heaton, esq. John Cain, Washington county; John Boyle, care of Wm. Johnson, cooper, Washington county; James Miller, Dennis Morgan, James Corey, John Cook, or John Cock, Washington county; James Eagleson, care of the Revd. Mathew Henderson, Robert M'Corrin, captain Thomas Hamilton, Chartiers; Wm. Williams, care of David Evans; James Johnson, care of Rev. Mathew Henderson; David Inglish, Whelen, Washington county; William Martin, Racoon; John Milligan, John M'Cortney, near Samuel Jackson's; Hizia Miller, care of Andrew Monroe, Canonsburgh; Samuel M'Alley, care of John Anderson, jun. Patrick M'Kee, Thomas M'Comb, Mingo creek; James Lang, Brownsville, care of Isaac Pearce; John Lowry, Washington county, care of Robert Steen; Hugh Powel, care of Michael Fower; Stephen M'Conaughy, James Leech, Racoon; Christiani M'Comb, care of the Rev. John M'Millan; Thomas M'Comb, Mingo creek; Mons. Little, Chartiers; John M'Ferron, care of Revd. John M'Millan; Thomas M'Cormick, waters of Buffaloe, care of Charles Wells, esq. Alexander M'Canne, care of Robert Porter; Patrick M'Kee, care of Andrew Rabb, Redstone; Mrs. M'Kibbon, Brownsville; Patrich Maguire, care of Richard Jackson, esq. Jackson's Fort; Joseph Paxton, Washinging county; George Beelem, Hugh Patton, care of the Rev. Mathew Henderson; James Stewart, Washington county; William Robinson, Washington county; Thomas Sergant, Tenmile; Samuel Layan, care of the Revd. John M'Millan; John M'Millan, preacher; Thomas Canon, or Daniel Nulins, care of John Smiley, Fayette; Abraham Vanvoors, Tenmile; George Young, care of Charles Valentine, Washington.

Four Dollars Reward.

STRAYED from the subscriber living on the waters of Travis, near Henry Koykendall's, a bay Mare, 15 or 16 years of age, branded SW, the S crossing the W, a small star in her forehead, and had on a small bell and was yoked; also a dark brown Mare, nearer black, 16 or 17 years of age, branded I T on the off buttock, but very dim, had on a large bell, but has never been docked; and two Colts, one two years old next spring, of a dark bay colour, and the other a Colt of last spring. Whoever takes up said strays and delivers them to the subscriber, shall receive the above reward and reasonable charges.

HENRY BROWN.

November 17, 1794.

Came to the plantation of

the subscriber living in Elizabeth township, Allegheny county, a black and white COW, her off ear cropt, and a halfpenny off the under part of her near ear. The owner is desired to come, prove property, pay charges, and take her away.

WILLIAM M'CLURE.

November 1st, 1794.

A NEW STORE.

Abner & Jesse Barker,

HAVE *just opened a neat and general Assortment of* DRY GOODS, GROCERIES, QUEENSWARE, *and* HARDWARE, *in the shop lately occupied by Mr. James Horner, Saaler, which they are determined to sell at the most reduced prices for cash or country produce.*

Pittsburgh, Dec. 11, 1794.

The partnership of Wm.

GRAY & Co. Board Merchants, being this day dissolved by mutual consent, all persons having any claims against said company are desired to present their accounts to William Gray for payment, and all those indebted to said firm, are requested to make immediate payment to him.

The present stock on hand will be disposed of at the usual price, by applying to said Gray.

WILLIAM GRAY,
GEORGE ROBINSON,
WILLIAM EARL.

Pittsburgh, Dec. 8, 1794.

CAME *to the plantation of the subscriber, living in St. Clair township, Allegheny county, some time in July last, two yearling Calves: one of them a speckled Bull, no mark or brand perceivable; the other a red Steer, with some white, a crop off the right ear, and two slits in the end, and a hole in the near ear. The owner by proving property and paying charges may have them again.*

NATHANIEL PLUMER.

December 11, 1794.

I AM directed to notify all persons in the counties of Allegheny, Fayette and Bedford, against whom suits have been commenced in the court of the United States, for neglecting to enter their Stills, that upon their coming forward immediately to the Collector of each county, and paying one year's arrearages upon the capacity of each still, and the costs of suit, a bill of which will be furnished, the actions will be discontinued.

JOHN NEVILL, Inspector of the Revenue, 4th Survey District of Pennsylvania.

Pittsburgh, Nov. 27, 1794.

Four Dollars Reward.

STRAYED from the mouth of Turtle creek some time last spring or summer, a bright sorrel Mare Colt, two years old last August, neat made, light footed and lively, a star in its forehead, neither brand nor ear mark. Whoever brings the Colt to the subscriber, or gives him information so that he may get it, shall receive the above reward and reasonable charges.

JOHN M'DOWELL.

December 4, 1794.

Came to the plantation

of the subscriber in Mifflin township, Allegheny county, near Kerkendall's mill, a redish coloured Cow, 9 or 10 years old, with some white spots on her forehead, with a three square white spot on her right jaw, has on an old bell fastened with a leather bell-collar; also a two year old Heifer with white spots in her forehead, and a spring calf. The owner or owners by proving property may have them again.

SAMUEL WYLIE.

December 6, 1794.